The Nationalism of the New Democracy

By

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Politics, ladies and gentlemen, is made up in just about equal parts of comprehension and sympathy. No man ought to go into politics who does not comprehend the task he is going to attempt.

—*Woodrow Wilson.*

March 1, 1914

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. . . have broken the barriers which separate one colony from the other; the distinctions between Pennsylvanians, Virginians, New Yorkers and New Englanders are no more—I am not a Virginian: I am an American.—Patrick Henry.

The roseate dawn of the fifth of September, 1774, arose while the representatives of the thirteen small colonies gathered to hold the first Congress of the United States in the historical Carpenter's Hall to cast the first basis of a collective entente, destined to form the new American Union.

The natives of North America potently felt the need of freeing themselves from the foreign dominion and to constitute a self-nationality. The representatives of the first thirteen colonies, in whose souls fluttered the nascent American patriotism, certainly were not American citizens, and in the Congress showed diverse, more or less individualistic and regional ideas and tendencies, although admitting that the Constitution regulating the rights and duties of a new people, which was arising to its autonomous and political independence, should be one desired to include special privileges relative to their respective States. In Carpenter's Hall was being developed the American patriotism, but a conventional patriotism, more theoretical in form than substance, and the representatives of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, etc., although showing promptness for the political fusion of their own colony, desired that this should become American in name but not in fact.

In other words, the task was to unite and fuse in one single political stroke the first thirteen States under a sole governmental direction which would bind together respectively each single ethnical and statal right and privilege of the different colonies, which as yet were undecided to proclaim themselves American in the true sense of the word. And behold! rising up in the midst of so much dispute and divergent ideas the noble and grand historical figure of Patrick Henry, who, with a brief, splendid and most eloquent phrase, elevating himself with mind and sentiment above the native representatives of the diverse colonies, proclaimed the beginning of the new American Nation-

alism, saying: "I am not a Virginian, but I am an American." In these words, pronounced by a man of profound patriotic sentiment, is indexed all the political philosophy of American Nationalism, not yet well understood even in our days.

One hundred and forty years ago the venerable, white-haired grand patriot was dictating in a few words the supreme laws of uniform American Nationalism. Patrick Henry, with his phrase, did not affirm himself as a simple patriotic lover of the independent fatherland, but a fervid American Nationalist. The phrase reads as follows: "All those here convened must dissolve themselves of their regionalism and the campanilism of their ideas and sentiments more or less privately and egotistically patriotic, but to have in mind only the profound sentiment of true American Nationalism, uniform and universal. We are here united as representatives of thirteen diverse colonies of patriotic sentiments, but none of nationalistic sentiments; one does not negotiate to cement and unite in a way more uniform and concordial than is possible the different sentiments of one individual and regional patriotism, but to give life to a new alliance and political union, to a new sacred creed, the American Nationalism. I am an American signifies I am an American citizen—an American Nationalist."

Oh, great and noble figure of the true "Father of this Country"; you, Patrick Henry, proclaiming over the cradle of the American Nation the principles of Nationalism; you desired since that early day to establish that political doctrine which your successors and custodians of American patriotism have not yet, even to this day, understood. You wished to make a new nation out of scattered and small States; you wished to form the new American people, with uniform ideas and sentiments; you preluded to the necessity of seeing thus united and bondfast the divers bonds and ethnical characters of the various American States, so as to form a single entity, uniform and compact; a new ethnical and social body: the true Nationalist American people.

But you were not understood, and to your hope for National Unity has been substituted the simple Patriotic Unity, a centralization of life, of laws, of customs and ideas that still, however, remain distinct and diverse with the single States, counties and cities. America has been made, but not for the American people—the children of a single father, raised in a single cradle, the cradle of Liberty and Nationalism preached by Patrick Henry—the man who in every deed of his life turned his mind to the Creator.

A clear, powerful, logical, hard-hitting mind is the greatest asset any man can possess. Hit hard and sharp and put all your weight behind the blows. Don't be an egg-cracker.—A. J. Drexel-Biddle.

NATIONALISM.

In no other country more than in America does one see the need to attend to the construction of self Nationalism; and yet there is no other nation in the world which could more easily accomplish this than the Republic of the United States.

The reason why we have not had as yet American Nationalism is that many great statesmen and legislators have either never thought of this or, having done so, they have not had any exact and clear idea of the meaning of the word Nationalism, which is not to be confounded with that of the admirers of the economic system depicted in "Looking Backward" (idea), nor with the theories of the People's Party, nor confuse Nationalism with Nationality.

Society is an aggregation of individuals having common relations in life. The orderly arrangement of these relations, rather the socialization and utilization of all these relations for the harmonic and uniform life of a mass of people, is called Socialism; for the same reason and in the same way the ethnical political system which is called Nationalism is reconstituted. This is the result of the orderly arrangement of all the common, ethical and social relations of the diverse nationalities of the heterogeneous masses of people of different origin, ideas and costumes, is the uniform and sole nationalization of all the varied social masses that find themselves united under any political regime from the least evolved, absolute government to that more developed, the Republic.

Nationalism is an organization of the people living the same intellectual and moral life, economic and social, civil and political. Therefore it is accomplished with the naturalization of the ideas and costumes of the diverse popular masses, educating and coordinating these ideas and varied social habits in the heterogeneous ethnical groups in order to establish a vital tie of organic life with uniformity of political laws. And inasmuch as the different ethnical groups with their diverse characters and relations can only unite themselves politically in the camp of Democracy, therefore it is logical that Nationalism is only possible through the application, development and synthesis of the Democratic principles.

Now, there is no other republic in the world as democratic and complexed as the United States, due to the massing of many nationalities, and for this reason it has a greater need of constituting its specific nationalism, which she can do more easily than the European nations.

Austria, Germany or England, for example, can never establish their nationalism, because they embrace foreign national territories and entities insomuch that they await the day in which they will become redeemed, and therefore they will never lend themselves to any tentative form whatsoever of foreign nationalization. Whereas, the United States have no unredeemed

territories, and hence with a wise and prudent nationalistic government decreed, so to say, to nationalize intellectually, morally, industrially and economically, and in consequence with the passing of generations, even ethnically, the United States of America could rise very soon to her supreme political unity, fusing the immense cosmopolitan people who are yet considered more subject in their specific ethical-political nationalism than American citizens, and which would be the most esteemed and respected among the other foreign nationalities of the world.

This is the supreme social and political evolution to which only a great people like that of the United States of America can achieve.

POLITICS IN LIFE.

What is politics in the practical life of the people?

It is not science nor philosophy as Plato understood it, neither the art of governing as Macchiavelli viewed it. It is the result of the constant evolutive movement of the people leading to proximal, diverse objects, yet remaining the sole and common remote object, Progress and Civilization. Politics is not a disciplined source of study by statesmen, but the story of the life of the people.

These have tendencies of self-aspirations for the race, language, costumes and all the manifestations of social life which in certain circumstances become even more or less national. Politics, in a word, is the mirror, the cinematograph of the life of a people of determinate ethnical entity. Thus placed, it is natural that as the life of a people unfolds itself, so also by degrees it comes to determine in itself that political system to which it feels more inclined and attached.

If in infancy is the life of a people, in infancy is its politics. The more a community evolves itself in civil life, the more capable subjects will appear in her to understand the historic movement, the necessities and inclinations of the people themselves and behold coming buoyantly a phalanx of politicians who, first elected by the people and desirous of doing good for them, after mastering themselves in the infinite games of politics, become the most pernicious and blood-sucking of the people that they arrive to "turlupinate," impoverish and deceive, the latter never becoming aware of what is being perpetrated to its harm.

The political life of the nations has two phases—one comic and the other serious. The powerful, the rich, the privileged by means of reward and position, are the first to rise to the power of public life. The people have faith in them, believing them powerful and capable of doing good, and hence rush to the polls to vote in their favor. In ancient times, before the infinite electoral laws, more or less partisan and camarillistic, had risen (since they are revoked and modified upon different times according to the egoistic and individualistic criterion of the diverse political heads and parties), the elections were made by

uniform and peaceful acclamation rather than by ferocious electoral struggles. To-day the elections are the fruits of the major struggles and arrogance of the more powerful and astute. The statesman, the political representative of a city, county and state, as long as he had power over a mass of the people whose economic life depended on him, took no interest in anything, and neither did he hear any one. He went to parliament simply to spend his time in idleness; he had always ready in the "castle" the dispensary full of food and drinks; footmen and valets constantly at his command, and he never lacked an infinite mass of wenches, whom he always held ready for balls and orgies, inviting even the populace to take part in these in order to hold them dissuaded and contented, as if to show them the beneficent fruits of liberty and diversion in life which attributed to his enormous struggles and toil in the collaboration of the political life of his country. Sometimes the people showed themselves discontented in reference to a certain political counsel suggested by their representative, and immediately the latter convinced them to the contrary, sustaining his thesis.

With the passing of times the people have evoluted and are no longer disposed to accept the impositions and moral pressions of their representatives, and for this reason they have had to swing to the right and to the left, oscillating between the positive and negative, running anl stopping, no more nor less like mountebanks and jugglers in the games of ball, jump and caprioles. Behold coming a mass of political mountebanks who pretend to be statesmen and legislators. It is the time of the political comedy, of the game of diversion. The great theater of national politics is crowded with spectators who have fought their way in and now enjoy the spectacle of the nonsensical play, laughing at all and each clown, mountebank, etc. In the scene there now appear leiters and harlequins in a strangest ludicrousness of visage and form, who are seeking to scale the strong and high ramparts of the fortified city. Behold the battle between the mice and frogs (view the episode of the robbery of the bucket) and thousands of other forms of the ridiculous, yet of great moral significance. There are representations which bear more applause to those who can better act comically upon the great stage of the national political theater.

The epoch of the comic play finishes and that of seriousness begins. Oh! what difference. No longer the political theater crowded by spectators and curious people who entered by force of blows in order to split one's side with laughter, but it is frequented by few, by those who, having had large experience of life, have no longer desire to laugh, but to cry over the increased human misery. By too much laughing, great uproar and comic confusion, the actors and spectators had forgotten to attend to the first needs of life—work, peace and domestic and civic order: they had forgotten to attend to the domestic and social duties in order that they might run and laugh from morning till night for those who, while acting as comedians, had impoverished the

people, thinning their pocketbook and even robbing them of it in the enchantment of the games of prestige.

At the serious play few men and grave political spectators assist, anxious to readjust a little the overturned social shed and to render life something more solemn than a momentary and ridiculous pastime of children. It is the time of the political democracy.

This is the point to which the American national politics has arrived. To-day we are in the second act of the great political cinematograph at the serious play.

After a long period of chaste political life, in which the greatest comedians of the comic company just exited from the stage, this has been replaced by men of grave temperament, studious minds, men of science and great experience in the social and political life. These men have given the ban to the buffoonery and to the nonsensical laugh. They have routed and pursued, many of them who have deceived the people, keeping the latter at bay in order to make them laugh and together forget how much was due them for the civilian and social life. The time of the political hypocrisy is ended; that of honesty and sincerity has begun.

The new Democracy has come and is breaking the soiled pavement of rubbish, of ropes, dishes and other utensils which served the multitude of comic capriolets to keep the body spectators both diverted and ruined. To-day the new Democracy will not only seek to disperse the last vestige of the exorbitant comic play, but to raise upon the stage of the social and political life of America the beautiful flag which has indeed remained hidden behind the thousands of scenes of comic political opera, and in certain places spotted and torn in its stately folds, in which there remain pale, occluded and invisible to the spectator's eye the words of "Liberty and Independence," written by Washington and Lincoln; in opposition to which were placed those of slavery and tyranny by the body of the political fugitive.

THE GREAT SPECTACLE OF POLITICAL LIFE.

In the great spectacle of national politics there are six principal factors from which others of secondary rate depend.

By the harmonic concert of these six factors and by their discord depend the airs which the orchestra plays, and the approval or disapproval of the public who laughs in the boxes or parquet.

They are: Religion, Justice, Education, Government, Commerce, Finance.

Let us speak separately of all and each of the relations of these individual factors of the political life in the United States.

RELIGION IN POLITICS.

Religion is that internal tie of heart and mind which unites man to his Creator in respectful and humble submission, explicated in the midst of worship in certain laws of practical life.

That religion has existed in all people and that it shall exist until the end of time, is beyond doubt based on the long historical traditions as well as on the same principle and doctrines which are found incarnated in science and universal philosophy, no matter of whatever nature these be to the diverse people and different races of the latter upon the earth. Therefore man has the right and duty to be a religious entity, at the same time being a social, political and civil entity.

Primitive political life of the ancients was always an interlacing of battles and of victories, more or less religious, to which follows those of civil and finally the actual political contentions.

With the Chinese, Hebrews and Egyptians, the struggles were on the same order as those of the Greeks and Romans; they were transformed into civil writhes. In the medieval era the combats were mixed religious and civil, with the Papacy at the head. With the granting of the first political charter in England and the other "Posteriori" nations (France, Germany, Italy and the United States), began the political struggles which are the compend and explanation of those same civil and religious. While statesmen in the European nations have had to fix the limit of civil and religious power of their people, the United States, with a legislature more practical and positive, at the same time providing and accentificating, have proclaimed religious liberty alongside that of civil and political liberty of the American people. But while the Constitution prescribes liberty, tolerance and respect of all religions, the political power in the United States is intrinsically united and connected to certain religious confessions which to-day are precisely those which constitute the menace of civil and political liberty itself. No country in the world is more religious than the United States. In the latter, due to much liberty given the ministers of worship, they have introduced religion in the camp of political life, and thus have rendered it adherent to the different political parties to such an extent that now the political parties are nothing other than religious parties and vice versa.

This has been openly verified in Philadelphia within the past few years and has buried the reform movement in this city forever, the people having lost faith in their leaders.

The ministers, profiting by the political and religious liberty given them, have mixed the elements, ideas, doctrines, sentiment, men and religious society, with the ideas, doctrines, sentiments, men and political society in such a manner as to create in politics the same struggles and antagonisms which exist in the religious camp between one denomination and another.

It is a feast or reward, conferring academic degrees, or laying of corner-stones for monuments, or a great civil, military, industrial, commercial or political ceremony, and we see at the side of the Mayor, Governor and President the minister of the denomination ready to open or close the ceremony, which is entirely civil and political and foreign to every religion.

This use certainly is not to be condemned as a practice in itself good, but by means of it there have been created, first, privilege, and then abuses in the clerical camp which to-day has subjected the true liberty and political independence of the entire nation. Ministers of religion to-day participate and direct all meetings, initiatives and institutions of the city, State and Nation. They have stretched their arms in all the various departments of civic, statal and federal administrations; from their lips hang the masses of their religious subjects, to whom they often give lessons in politics instead of religious sermons, making use of churches for halls, electoral assemblages and political missions, dragging their wives and daughters along. This is observed in Philadelphia.

Due to the mixture of religion and politics, the faithful no longer receive the catechistic instructions regarding doctrine and religious worship, the love and affection to the wife and children, the respect to the husband and father, the protection of the brother to the brothers and sisters, but for the extreme faith that they have in their ministers and pastors, they believe that following the civil and political ideas of these, even without attending to worships and to their religious practice, they can save their souls.

In this state of things there is derived another spurious factor in the American civilization, i. e., political religion; and this due to the invasion of religious power in the political field. The compunctions and multiplicity of the different political parties are those same sorrows of the religious parties. Religion has become the field for contentions and a political athletic ring. The public does not mind it and neither is it aware, but nevertheless it is (such). When it shall be aware it will be too late to remedy—only Nationalism can face the situation.

The Roman Church had its placid and calm dominion of souls while it did not mingle in the temporal power and in political strifes. She lost her power even in the spiritual when the Papacy wanted to insinuate himself in the national and internal questions, for which Dante well reproached Constantine for the political liberty granted to the Church, when he says:

> "Ah, Constantine! To evils how immense
> Not your conversion, but your dower gave birth,
> From which the first rich Pope took opulence."

and which made Pietrarch exclaim:

> Fountain of sorrows, centre of mad ire,
> Rank error's school and fame of heresy,
> Once Rome, now Babylon, the false and free,
> Whom fondly we lament and long desire.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Founded in humble poverty and chaste
> Against thy founders lift'st thou now thy horn, "Impudent harlot."

Therefore we must separate religion from politics, confine the former in the spiritual field, in the sanctuary of the heart and conscience, in the sacred and mysterious silence of the churches in whose shadows grew the legions of saints and martyrs of the faith. In the silence of prayer the ministers of religions will be of greater service to his fold than by guiding it by means of force in arches, in valleys, mountains, plains and insurmountable political barriers without the useless sacrifice of material and spiritual life of his religious subjects. Liberated from difficulties and from moral oppression of the invaders of religious sects, politics in the United States will be able to serve religion itself in order to calm the inevitable disorders and social and political compunctions. Religious equilibrium established in politics and equilibrium of the latter in religion, the Republic of the United States will yet be able to prosper under a regime of true liberty and national independence, superior and dominating to every race and foreign nationality, to every institution and religious denomination, civil and internal politically.

This accomplishment belongs to the youthful Democratic Nationalism.

JUSTICE IN POLITICS.

Justice is that great lever which sustains in its tabernacle the swing of the social life of the people in the familiar and domestic ties (that is, those nearest to the individual) as well as in the vastest and great bonds of diverse social communities and political entities in national and international life. It is the equalization of the rights and duties of all and each individual appertaining to a political society, before the great, universal and immutable laws of nature.

Justice is the sanction of these laws interpreted by positive laws. The one as much as the other has reference to the specification and determination of the rights and duties of man in respect to nature and society in which he lives. Justice is nothing other than the sanction of these relations between man and men, man and society, and between man and civil and political authority. Naturally Justice is one and the same for all men, because the laws that regulate individual and social human life, as well as civil and political, have reference to all and each individual, all and each member of an homogeneous ethnical community. And it is on account of diversity of races and ethnical communities that positive laws, be they civil as well as political, are different, the one from the other. Nevertheless, they admit of no exceptions or privileges, the rich as well as the poor, the strong as well as the weak, the gifted as well as the ignorant, the sovereign as well as the subjects, all are and must be subjected in the same measure to social justice, to that tribunal to which belongs the duty to resolve in conformity of the laws all the social, individual civil and moral, political and religious anomalies and deformities of whatever nature and of whatever entity.

Justice is that sovereign deity figured by the ancients with the scale of equality in one hand and a sword of impartiality in the other. Without equality and impartiality of justice, and without profound knowledge of natural and civil laws of natural and positive rights and duties of man as an individual, true justice is impossible in the world, but it is only possible to have a partisan justice, egoistic and fantastic: a chimerical justice like that observed to-day in many people where justice is administered either with religious favoritism, industrial, political, monarchial or republican favoritism, and even with favoritism of criminality itself.

Justice is superior to every man, society or state, to subjects as well as legislators, sovereign and emperors who should genuflect before it, just as they pretend that their subjects genuflect before them.

Therefore it is easy to divine why justice, this supreme factor of political life, has not been with us in the past.

Judges are the guardian angels, the protectors of the inviolable human rights, the agents of order. To these society has intrusted the high charge of watching for the equal observation and impartial application of them to the practical life of their civil and political community.

Now, it is impossible that a judge be able to impose obedience to the laws for their practical application if he himself does not first know well and deeply this code of laws, laws that are varied and diverse in different circumstances of place, time and person. He must likewise have such and so many sentiments of equality and impartiality as to know how to apply best the laws in each case and cure the wounds of individual and social criminality. He must be as a doctor, who, applying with wisdom, prudence and discretion the remedies suggested by science, cures the infirmities and does not render them more acute and serious. Now, to the indebted science of a doctor a long, practical experience is necessary, and often this is worth more for the doing of good to Society than the highest general theoretical instruction. The same is the case for the judge. Besides the indebted legal science there is necessary a natural equality and sentiment of impartiality in his heart, and above all a long, practical experience is also necessary in the exercise of his ministry and apostleship.

Instead, we ordinarily see judges that have never known theoretically the voluminous code of human civil laws (such code not yet written in America), and often they lack some of the same elementary principles of natural equality and almost always lack the long experience and practice which could in a certain way compensate for the shortness of the first two requisites. Why all this? Because the judges and magistrates are elected by the people, and hence they are more or less the faithful expression of the latter inclination. In Philadelphia in the last election, after the institution of the Municipal Court, adopted

in the last session of the legislature in Pennsylvania one assisted in the spectacle of seeing (always with due respect to certain eminent members of the Philadelphia bar) a phalanx of candidates for judges, as if justice was being treated as a "boiled potato."

Judges are elected by political parties, and naturally rising in power they must act in the interest of their electors, and in this manner there is no difference between judicial authority and political authority.

The judges are elected almost always by corruption with gold of the great corporations and trusts, who find profitable their affairs of spending millions of dollars in the elections to corrupt the electors in order to place in office a judge or magistrate, to the end of accomplishing undisturbed their monopolistic and criminal undertakings to the charge of the populace. The same is with the judges appointed under the rules of the Constitution. Therefore judges can never administer true justice.

It is necessary that they be instructed and educated much better in legal science and in practices of jurisprudence, and therefore the first thing is to abolish the use of electing and appoint magistrates and judges in order to avoid the possibility of electing judges of social, civil and political indignity. A judge must be of career and placed in office by promotions and for individual merits, be they in their legal branch or in practice. This is the only branch where civil service should be severally applied. Other branches of the government should be regulated by the party in power, which is responsible to the people who raised it into power.

The judges must be the light which shines in the darkness as for intellectual and moral competency.

The magistrature has need of a radical reform, with the criterion that justice and its administrators must not lead themselves into association or into civil and political movements. Justice must control the officials of the government, state and city, who must in turn be subject to the judicial verdict equally as the poorest and impotent citizen of the state. In brief, a judge must be so by career and promoted by merits.

This reform was impossible in the days of the great Republican wound, which caused serious reasoning to the greatest statesmen, not excluding Presidents Roosevelt or Taft. It comes portune and easy in the days of true social democracy, led by able statesmen in matters pertaining to rights and duties, laws and justice and social science, which the Republic of North America has never had as yet.

Administration of justice, from city, county and state, should pass under the control of the Minister of Justice and be independent of any political movement.

EDUCATION.

The highest mission of the politics of a state is uniform and complete education of the great ethnical mass, which is united under the same play. It is not sufficient that a state strive to consolidate civilly and materially internally and at the same time defend itself from the attacks of other nations.

A state is not very great if it is not capable of educating its people in the duties and rights belonging to them as part of their domestic, social, civil and political life. It is much easier to form a nation than to form its citizens. While the rough masses of people, as the result of sacrifice, loss of blood and heroism, succeed in organizing themselves in liberty and independence in their political life, they are incapable of remaining always united and compact, because no matter how much a people be evolved and possess high common ideas, it cannot have uniform ideas and sentiments, nor can it last forever in its enthusiasm and political heroism, which would cause it to sacrifice all other particulars and various divergences and opinions belonging to single individuals who are born and die differently from each other.

It is the first duty of a state, as soon as consolidated, to take care of and educate each and every one of its subjects in a uniform manner and convenient, according to the exigencies of progress and civilization of the present time and according to the internal necessities of the new political and social body.

The problem of national education is to-day, if not altogether, in certain states, certainly misunderstood, as the result of which we often assist in the spectacle of brothers killing brothers and children committing patricides. The state should impart an education equal for all and uniform not only in the doctrines, but in the text books as well, because only in such wise means could certain noxious and futile controversies be eliminated. This is specially true along such branches as sociology and politics. Such controversies are first merely theoretical, then later pass into the real state and facts. Above all, educate women into the duties of womanhood and men in their duties of manhood.

Anarchy, opposition and other false theories which are at present afflicting society could not be possible if in schools and houses certain books full of rebellions and incendiarism were not being studied. It would not be possible to see in the same state so many organizations, parties, societies, mostly chartered under the very laws of the State, all professing various mixtures of semi-scientific theories, or social, artistic or political, but all professing doctrines of campanilism, diverse or opposed, which every day come against each other and again give rise to new results and combinations of spurious social and abnormal life, thus arresting in the people the movement of natural evolution.

A society, a club, or any other organization chartered under

the laws of the state made up of American citizens, we see them making public demonstrations, parading through the streets of a city with a flag—French, Italian, German, Irish, or some other nationality—and we see public officers invited to be present at a celebration not in the least American in national character.

All this is not only illogical but also intolerable, and no authority should permit it.

If science is one because the truth is one; one history of a people because of a single fact; single is philosophy because single are logic and ethics, which make the foundations constant and uniform of all the other science, both social and political, then why should there be different text books, different teachers, diverse courses of study and varied systems of education?

It can be said that there are colonies here, composed of immigrants conserving the principles, education and system of life of the land of their origin. But in America there are no colonies; this prejudice should cease. The immigrant once becoming an American citizen has no right or duty other than that of being an American citizen and, remaining such, to observe the laws of his adopted fatherland; but if this citizenship is taken as a basis of speculation it is the duty of the authority to take precaution against the infringer. This is the education first necessary to eliminate so many abuses.

The more does teaching unify and intensify itself, the more homogeneous beings will be created in the world; the more homogeneity of induction and conception, the more homogeneity of language and writing. The more a political mass is homogeneous in its intellectual and moral capacity, the more is it united and solid in its ideal; more respectful and obedient to its government and to its authority, which it must love, because there shows a love for the subjects.

Education is not the same thing as instruction; this has reference to a simple erudition and knowledge of the mind, whereas education has reference also and principally to the heart.

In the United States the system of teaching is varied and diversified in each state, county and city. There is no uniform and national teaching, but a miscela of books and diverse theories in all the branches of knowledge. The universities themselves, which in preference to the other schools should be the centralizing of all the doctrines more universal and uniform, are curriculi of perfection different from the diverse courses in the primary schools.

The government has not its Minister of Public Instructions, from whom should emanate the supreme direction and co-ordination of the schools of the whole nation.

We see permitted in the United States private and parochial schools. There is nothing more pernicious for the youths than to be educated with diverse sentiments, especially in the domestic and religious fields. In the private schools the tender generations

are educated in the varied and different systems of domestic social life, which are as many as there are private teachers, on a life more or less conservative or reformistic and of belief more or less liberal or superstitious. In parochial schools there prevails the teaching of the religious confessions professed by the priest or pastor, Catholic or Protestant or Episcopalian, etc. Hence the school begins with the Ave Maria and ends with the Gloria Patri. So much in that or in this one does not teach the youth unprejudicedly and clearly the truth of science, the philosophy of the individual and of society, the true science and philosophy with liberty of the different religious beliefs. And besides the deficiency of teaching in these schools there are committed those misdeeds which are the first attacks on the public order and national institutions themselves. Between private and ministers there exists a relation, mutually helping each other in turn, permitting to pass as assiduous frequentators of the schools children who never frequent it or who absent themselves for weeks and months without any reason.

All this should be eliminated in America, where with so great and vast political unity of forty-eight states there should correspond as much uniformity and unity in the educational branch.

If the parochial school is German, it prides itself on the traditions of Germany; if it is Italian, to the traditions of Italy; if Irish, it glorifies itself in the traditions of Ireland.

Where there now reigns the greatest variety and confusion, whether in the technical branches of teaching or in the scientific, is in the text-books themselevs.

The program of study is not uniform, nor are the schools well divided and graded in the two branches of intellectual and moral culture, common and manual, commercial and industrial. Science and work are mixed both in theory and in practice.

The central government and the government of the diverse states do not exercise any control or direction whatever in the branch of public education which would be altogether abandoned to the monopolies of the different religious sects or private interests if it were not for the few rules concerning the compulsory attendance in school of children of a given age and the care to maintain the locals in a hygienic state, and to the best interests of public health.

Public education should have a special and central office at Washington, D. C.; states and cities should not in any way intervene in the technical or directive branch of teaching, but should simply assist and help the central power in Washington, rendering executive the orders and distributing and watching the teachers in the states and see that they are capable. In the schools there should be given an education a little more intellectual and moral than manual, leaving the latter to arts and business schools, which should follow those of general culture.

Only thus could politics regulate, direct and control the

rising generations, which to-day, as the result of the laws of protection, are brought up indisciplinate and insolent.

GOVERNMENT IN POLITICS.

Government is the centralized and supreme power of a nation presiding over the order, control and protection of all aspirations, ideals and necessities of its (organic) social and civil life.

Therefore government represents a power rather executive than directive, rather administrative than legislative, democratic representative more than aristocratic directive.

The erroneous conception of the ideal government has been the very first cause of the variety of governing regimes, which, however, are also made undergoing the general laws of evolution or the laws of natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, as the result of which from the absolute and tyrannical regime, found in Russia, we pass on down to American democracy, which to-day stands out in the world as the maximum development of political life.

In patriarchal times the sovereign of a nation or tribe was he who most distinguished himself for knowledge, intelligence, physical strength or social ability. In those times the most mediocre characters of to-day might have been the supreme idols of the old social life, since it did not possess internal organization or assets, but only gave protection to the races and local ethnical characters, wrestling steadfastly and without median terms against the neighboring people, aggressors or disturbers.

Political life was explicated only in the negative form; that is, through the defense of the community which was then about to enter in its social and collective life.

Everything then was still in the natural state. The constituents adored their ruler like an idol; they placed in him all their trusts; he was venerated in all and everywhere. But gradually these leaders of people or races, because prepossent, tyrannical and surrounded by similar elements, founded the regime of absolutism, a pale shadow of which now remains in the government of the Russian Czar. Still, after a time, the peopel arose to claim their natural rights, and tore and wrested the absolute regime, the privileges of abuse, so rendering government more humane and as the result, behold—Modern Monarchies.

But if these were the forms of government adapted for medieval times, they certainly are not the expression of the modern people. Monarchies are loaded with too many privileges which in a sense resemble absolute government, hence in modern times, beginning with the French Revolution, the people again overthrew the monarchical yoke and handed the leadership of public life to a president.

Behold the modern republics. However these, no matter how liberal they be, as in France, are not as yet really popular institutions. Republican government is a regime popularly repre-

sentative more in form than in substance. Even in a republic there are found many monarchical principles, and especially its legislative power is not unlike that of the monarchical.

A people only up to a certain point has the power to make valid its wishes, because officials of the government have with them the police and the executive power, which enables them to impose their will on the people whenever the latter is not disposed to listen.

In other words, in the republic there is still the method of command instead of that of administration.

In the democratic government there is all that the people could desire. Here the president does not have the right to dictate and impose his will, but suggests the best methods of direction, according to the demand of the people as set forth in public demonstration, reunions, by the press, popular referendum and all that is expressed by the collective desire of the subjects.

In a democratic government the judiciary power is even superior to the government itself and its politics, as we demonstrated in the third chapter. The parliamentarians are not only the faithful carriers of the people's voices, but are also the mirror in which are reflected all the problems, the postulates, questions and demands of public life.

The people should not be so pressing in their efforts to show to the representatives their needs, but there should be understood by intuition, by the same parliamentarians, who themselves justly remunerated, being employed in the great statal administration, have the right and desire to serve the people in whatever is desired from them. Therefore it is no longer necessary to make more laws, which are always odious brakes and contrary to the liberty of a people, but only to modify those already existing, rendering them smoother and more just in their application. It is necessary, then, to study methods in order to re-establish equality of social rights and inculcate the sentiment of respect for them, instead of creating new unbalancements between rights and duties, adding to this or that with new and imperious laws.

The fewer positive laws a people has the better and more quiet does it line under the rule of natural ethics. Social life is nothing else but the development, the amplification and perfection of individual life, and political life and development of the highest relation between the various social community, therefore political life is of the same nature as the individual and, like it, is better exploited in the sphere of natural laws than in that of positive laws. Thus the political democratic life of a people which is well evoluted, is exploited, developed and perfected with a body of positive laws which are the faithful interpretation of natural laws and sanction the rights of the citizen in the same manner that ethics and morals sanction the rights of man.

If, therefore, the legislative and judiciary power must be subordinate to the supreme will of the people, consequently the executive, which itself is subordinate to the legislative and fol-

lows it side by side, must itself be nothing more than the just sanction of the same people, and the police should attend to the scrupulous, exact, impartial and energetic observation of civil and political laws.

The executive power is subordinate to the legislative just as this is to the judiciary. While the ancients say, "divide et impera," the modern people say, "be united and obey."

The executive power must obey the will of the people after having united it in all its relations—civil, social, political, national and international.

SOCIAL ECONOMY.

The political life of a people is reasonably directed by the development of its social life, which in turn has its foundation in social economy. By the equilibrium of the factors of the latter, capital and labor, which give place to the industrial and commercial life, depends the equilibrium, and therefore the progressive development of civil and political life. If the industrial commercial field is disturbed, disturbed will also be the social and political life of a people, whose prosperity, peace and civil progress (and therefore liberty and political independence) are like flowers which bloom only in fertile grounds, rich in nutritive substances and irrigated by abundant waters.

In America political life finds itself hindered in its movement because it is disturbed in its economical equilibrium.

Ordinarily the economical crisis usually occurs through sperequazione of production and consumption, but in America this general rule finds its exception. There is always sufficient production here, and the latter finds its equilibrium in the increasing consumption of a cosmopolitan people who augment from day to day, just as the increasing consumption always finds ready the inexhaustible production of the riches which are in the viscera of this immeasurable continent. The equilibrium in the economical world of America is only possible at the fulcrum, at the point of support, at the median terminal of the great lever which determines the economical life of this country—labor with its inseparable factor—capital. Gold and labor are the two crossed bars which sustain the great American economical edifice and regulate (without they in turn being regulated by any other factor) the destinies of the same production and consumption; that is to say, industry and commerce, labor and money, constitute in America two diverse but inseparable markets, from whose united prosperity depends the prosperity of the entire economical life of a country.

To-day one laments the high cost of living, the miserableness of salaries, the agitation in the laboring field, the destructive action of the monopolies of the diverse industries. Why? Because the world of money has had the upper hand on that of labor.

In America to-day one does not work to live, but one lives in order to accumulate money. It is not the money which serves for life, but the latter for the former. The more money one has the more he seeks, and in the tumultuous march for the conquest of the gold one tramples on the most inviolable rights of man and of citizen, amassing innocent laboring victims. Beneath the heaviest weight of the immense ingots accumulated in the Republican regime the big and heavy wheels of the great car of labor have broken crackling, and a mass of people seek about in vain for bread and help (strange to conceive) from those same persons who were the cause of their ruin and execution.

Misery abounds in countries in which gold abounds, because misery is the daughter of gold. Now, all this economical disaster is derived from the fact that one has wished to protect too much the internal production and even the American capitalist, who by this time had monopolized and controlled every sort of production.

The politics of the United States has undergone a grave reversal in the economic branch, because in the industrial and commercial protectionistic politic one has forgotten to acknowledge and sanction the rights of the people, by whose labor one owes every production and therefore every activity, development and progress in the industrial and commercial fields. There is necessary, therefore, a remedy to so many evils and the triumphant new Democracy, risen to power, has recognized the gravity of the historical moment in the industrial and commercial camps and behold the new legislation of the tariff and the income tax in order to close to the people the doors of misery and snatch from their mouth the meat macerated by putrefaction, arrested by the action of ice in the cold storage, eggs kept for years in the ice chests, and all other foods placed out on the market little by little in order to gather the maximum lucre with the minimum sale.

Thus are gathered the millions of capitalists enriched with the work of the masses. It is their duty to unload in the Federal treasury that unjust lucre, the result of their tyranny to the people.

Medieval times are past in American politics and the modern era has been inaugurated, the era of the French Revolution, of the radical civil and political reform. This is the mission to be explicated by the directors of the new Democracy.

With the new tariff and income tax a certain equilibrium has been established between the rich and the poor, capitalists and workers. Aristocracy has received a lowering blow, while democracy has been pushed upward. With the new banking and anti-trust legislation the disturbed equilibrium of the industrial market, commerce and finance will be still better re-established.

Hence it is necessary to formulate a complete legislation for the working class regulating work. This is a problem always discussed but never solved, simply because the old Republican

party had all the interest centered in maintaining the workingman subjected under the yoke of service and tyranny.

With a neuseating, most severe system of protection, every free action in industry and internal and foreign commerce paralyzed, we could never hope that the workingman would receive the necessary consideration, since it was due to him, more than the natural crude riches of the land, that the progress reached in industry and commerce, civic and domestic and social, has been attained.

Now this industrial and commercial progress has been paralyzed and choked by the monetary industrialism of the rich capitalists, and to replace it to its normal state of progressive movement it is necessary to give the workingman that esteem, faculty, power and authority which he had (only in the working branch) in the early times of the economical, social industrialism. With a better legislation for the working class, with the acknowledgment of the individual and social rights of the workingman; with better wages and lessening of the suffering on the working mission, the workingman gathering new strength and new moral and physical impetus, individual and social, will be more able and resistible in his work; with a lesser struggle for life he will better and more willingly keep the fight against nature "which to art is deaf" and, bettering the work, will better the production. Augmenting this, industry and commerce will be bettered and multiplied, the citizens of the Republic will live happier and more comfortable, decreased will be the number of crimes (which ordinarily are the fruits of poverty), progress will advance, likewise civilization, and all this will be the effect of that sage, prudent and bold Democratic politic which surely will write in the political and civic history a page never before written by any other party of this nation.

FINANCES.

The spring which sustains the equilibrium of economical forces is finance. The money market is the basis of industrial and commercial riches of a nation. The product of labor, utility, and the lucre derived from industries and commerce constitutes what is called capital or finance. The more and greater are the capitalists in a state, the more is this rich in production and labor. Popular masses have better chance of a prosperous life and fewer stringencies of economical and social life, and in consequence to the domestic and social economic prosperity must correspond a relative and equivalent national prosperity.

These are the theoretical principles regulating social life of a mass of individuals, constituted in form of a nation, but in practice facts work out differently.

For that natural cupidity which man possesses to desire more as he more possesses, and forgets the principles governing the people, the more he elevates himself in the privileged sphere

of capital and finance, it often happens that where capital abounds work is lacking or this is poorly executed, for continuous "sabotage" and consequent arguments and social disorders often arise, as the result of which we often assist in crises which appear strange just because inconceivable and unreasonable in origin and development. Very often work lacks where capital abounds, and misery is next door to riches. Rather the states of economical, political life are two only—maximum poverty and maximum riches. In America to-day capitalism has supremely overthrown social, economic and political life. The monopolies of the trust and great corporations have been made possible only through the great monopoly in the financial market, which until yesterday has been the stumbling block for more equous legislation in economics, with a radical reform in the field of capital and labor. Everywhere in America rules the system of centralization, and this system in the branches of finances means strangulation of private industries and destruction of smaller operators, who are absorbed by the bigger ones, just as in the sea the larger fishes swallow the smaller. To-day life is paralyzed in all its activities, individual and social, and politics is confused, disturbed in its supreme direction, because the executive power must be held up for the benefit of the see-saw of political parties from which depend the life and death of the United States. Capitalism—that is, private finance—has reached the climax. It is not possible to go farther, since it has succeeded in taking away from the smaller wheels of the great economical mechanism all the necessary cogs. Broken the wheels, broken is the clock of political life, and here, therefore, we find general paralysis of industries and commerce on account of the paralysis of the money market. It is not only necessary to again grease the axles of these wheels, but also once more connect the cogs. It is necessary to subtract on one side and add to the other. The money must be reorganized and reconstructed anew, and once this is renovated, industries and commerce will retake the normal course and the people will be unbound of the chains of an economic and political slavery.

This is the task of the new Democracy once in power.

The old political parties, one after another, have degenerated, deviating from their ultimate objective and purpose. To-day we are assisting to coalitions of political parties tending not to install a new and better ordination of politics, but simply to destroy a given opposed party. To the frank and genuine politics of old with definite principles, ideals and scopes have succeeded a political bizarre and fusionist. This is the best proof of the confusion reigning in political movements, equal to that which is in the social and economic camp. Therefore, also in politics the idea has been made manifest; that is, the monopolistic idea of the centralization of forces of the stronger industrial men and capitalists who, after dominating the economic underworld, together with the industrial and commercial, and after having

centralized and paralyzed every one of its movements in private finances, has now ceased to dominate politics. The new Democracy has broken the old bars, opening the economic market with the new tariff, and taking away from the vaults of millionaires the surplus which was unrighteously usurped from the people, makes it now pass into the treasury of the state with the income tax.

Now we are in the midst of the banking reforms, or rather the reorganization and control of finances. For this is necessary a system of protection and official control of the nation, and after this reform it will be easy to reform also the world of trusts, that line of parasitism on the private finance which in America is contrary to the national finance, which theoretically and practically should govern all finance, whether social or individual.

In the midst of the vast camp of modern Democracy we see towering the grand political figure of the progressivist, Theodore Roosevelt. He was and will remain one of the greatest statesmen, not only in America, but in the entire world, and he is the one who has, more than any other, contributed to the triumph of the new Democracy. He, in all his political career, begun since the age of twenty-one in New York, has shown to feel in his soul an imperious and humanitarian duty; that is, with his activity, to be of need to the American people, be it as citizen or as President of the nation. Living at the time in which Republicanism was at the height of its splendor, although realizing the merits and desserts of this in the branch of economical and political protection of the United States, in his heart he felt other beats more active, of new enterprise which would be the explication of identities still greater and nobler than those of the Republican party, among which he was dwelling.

From the beginning of his political career, whether as Commissioner of New York police or as a public official in other offices which he occupied, he did not hide to those who were more intimate these new ideals and sentiments for politics vaster, more modern, wiser and more illuminated by the doctrines of contemporaneous science.

He has consumed his life reading and studying books of every sort, of all the nations, knowing several languages; therefore he has been able to furnish himself with knowledge of cosmopolitan theories and facts, and to the learned man who can unite the practice does not lack a special way of thinking and wanting differently from that of others more or less specialized in one or in a few branches of social life. But this stream of doctrines, *sui generis* and of altruistic sentiment of a great man who finds himself implicated for inclination in the political life of his fatherland, were restrained and held concealed by him for fear that, set forth, they would offend his friends in senti-

ment who were not so amply liberal and highly noble as he. No one loved and loves the fatherland as Theodore Roosevelt loved and loves; he who to-day is accused of opposition, socialism, and even anarchy, by reason of his highly modern theory of the supreme authority of the people. Precisely this was the eruption of the great stream and production of his political personality which to-day has given life and existence to a third American political party, the Rooseveltian Progressivism, a party which had its baptism of blood in the convention of Chicago when (the Great) Roosevelt, no longer fearing the fury of his enemies, with a bullet in his breast, presented himself in the vestibule of the convention in Chicago in order to discourse the cause of the resurrection of American politics. And while he sought to inject in the veins of the decrepit political organism the new blood of the reform and sought to clear the overcoat already soiled by the old Republican party, even this was stolen from him.

In Chicago, seeing the ingratitude and thanklessness of his old friends, he was forced to put forth his new political system with the sovereignty of the people as its basis—a system which almost cost him his life and which to-day he still sustains and propagates by means of his new party, even in Argentina and in Brazil seeking to convert to the new political verb even the other American continent where he has spoken on the theme of "Truth and Half Truth," and in calling socialism collectivism, and capitalism industrialism.

He has said that the two parties have manifested a half truth, and that the entire truth lies in the union of these two half truths, and necessarily exposed his great and popular political system conservative in essence, but reformative and radical in the form and in means.

Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.

Thus becomes exploded every accusation of opposition, socialism and anarchy launched against him in Chicago.

These theoretical humanitarian sentiments which to-day illuminate his apostolate, were in the past well manifested during his splendid political career, and on the battlefield of Cuba. Colonel Roosevelt is an unselfish leader and not a speculator who assumes for himself the defense of the country and the rights of civilization against the barbarism and tyranny in Cuba. The American people therefore having understood his philanthropic, patriotic and humanitarian spirit, elected him Vice-President during the McKinley administration, and later President of the United States. Roosevelt was not elected President as the effort of a given party, because, like Woodrow Wilson, he did not belong to any party (although externally in form only he appeared to be a friend of the Republican). His party was the New Democracy, like that of Wilson, and for that very reason the whole American people, with a spontaneous unanimous vote, declared him Chief of the Republic.

Having become President, following the death of President

McKinley, according to the constitutional law, his hands were free. Not being subject to any political party, he did what he could not have done if it had been necessary for him to continue allegiance to any given party which had elected him.

A free, active and, in a certain way, restless spirit, had he given such manifestations to his early political career, he would have compromised his future, and had he been in Russia, Germany or Italy, or any other decidedly conservative nation, he would, in all probability, have been locked in jail for life, or probably sent to penal baths, or he would have had to contradict himself, his ideals and sentiments; undergo a similar metamorphosis to that of the little tadpoles when they develop into duet frogs, just the same as lately has taken place in other places, and in Italy with the conversion of Enrico Ferri and other reformers, who appear to have given themselves body and soul to an extreme conservatism.

However, Roosevelt would never have ceded to any historical reason, because he himself is a missionary creating new humanitarian beliefs and sageness in the political and civil fields.

Succeeding him came Taft, a very good man and a learned magistrate; a man whom Roosevelt hoped he could depend upon to prepare his radical reform and then actuate it in a successive, hoped-for term.

But this, the result of party intrigues, failed, and when he saw that the American people, with the dawning of the New Democracy, already had fluttered its wings in the direction of Baltimore, in order to place itself on the banner of Woodrow Wilson, he bravely helped the election of the new master:

Ut clavum rectum teneam, navemque gubernem,

and defeated his foes.

The ultra modern Rooseveltian ideals and his progressivism could not at once be understood and accepted as practical by a people accustomed to a rigid political conservatism, first taking a middle course and ascending on the first step of the Wilsonian Democracy, being always necessary to first educate the American people in his special Nationalism, which, after all, is the sure guarantee of the final triumph of the Rooseveltian progressivism.

The American nation can well be proud of the fact that it has enrolled in the ranks of the New Democracy one of its greatest statesmen.

It seems strange, but nevertheless it is true.

That which to-day is lamentable is the great variety and multitude of political parties which are multiplying, associating, founding and breaking themselves daily. The electorial period, instead of amalgamating more the diverse tendencies of the

different parties and concentrating them towards the sole common limit, *i. e.,* the good government of this florid and great Republic, they have centuplicated the social miseries, and confoundness is at its maximum in all the branches of social and civil life.

Religion, education, finance, work, poverty, riches, democracy, aristocracy, are battling among themselves and political confusion is at its summit because it is the contention of the individual elements of these. It is necessary to discipline everything and to reordinate the civil world; it is necessary to control the activity of private and direct them to the concentration of a great and vital political body.

And to this end it is necessary to work upon a common basis and pedestal, Nationalism (as it was shown in the first chapter of this volume).

In no country more than in the United States does one see the great necessity of a uniform political life. Here the political and social dissension is too great and the Republic of North America, instead of being one nation, is a federation of States so large as to be corresponding nations. In the United States there is not that political concentration which exists in other states with federal regime, as in Germany and in Switzerland. The government of Washington has the supreme direction of the States simply concerning the relations which the States have among themselves. Religion, education, patriotism, finance, labor, etc., are elements which are diversely directed and controlled in the individual States and which do not in the least enter under the direction and control of the Federal power.

Until there is established in America the true system of Nationalism, and they will absorb in this all the other statal patriotism more or less in collusion with the patriotism of Washington, it is useless to speak of American unity and independence, and it is for this reason that to-day in the land of liberty and riches one laments the wounds of civil and political slavery and misery.

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